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Haiti Gripped by Terror, Bloodshed

MIAMI—Haiti plunged on haplessly in terror and bloodshed Tuesday as ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide pleaded from a hasty exile for international help in restoring his presidency and his country's shattered democracy, while the military asserted he was an "apprentice dictator."

Aristide was seized by army coup-makers and forced to fly to Caracas, Venezuela, where he accused his captors of "spreading death like flies" and plotting further massacres.

"They have a long list of people whom they plan to kill," the 38-year-old Catholic priest-turned-president said in a statement sent from Caracas to Haitian diplomats in the United States.

He described the coup's leader, Brig. Gen. Raoul Cedras, as "power mad" in another statement broadcast to Haiti by Radio France Internationale. In both statements, Aristide pleaded with his people to "hold on tight. Don't let go. We've been shaken, but we haven't fallen."

But reports from Port-au-Prince described a cowed population hiding indoors to escape the random gunfire of troops roaming the capital's streets in vehicles and on foot.

Since the army uprising began late Sunday with apparent mutinies at a suburban military base and a downtown police station, more than 100 people have been killed, according to the Caribbean Human Rights Network headquarters in Barbados. The Associated Press quoted Frantz LaMothe, a photographer who visited the morgue of Port-au-Prince General Hospital, as saying authorities told him there were 140 bodies there alone.

The military clamped down on the Haitian capital and claimed its coup against Aristide was necessary. Cedras, who had been Aristide's interim army commander, went on state television Tuesday night and claimed the coup was justified to halt human rights abuses and violations of the constitution by Aristide, whom

he called an "apprentice dictator."

International reaction to the coup was swift and blunt. The United States and France cut off their aid to the impoverished nation, while Canada and the European Community moved to suspend their Haitian aid programs.

"The United States government does not recognize this junta," said State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler.

She said the Organization of American States will convene a high-level emergency meeting in the next few days "and we will work in that forum and through other diplomatic activity for the restoration of constitutional rule in Haiti."

Under its charter, the OAS—whose officials said late Tuesday that Aristide had been invited to attend the emergency meeting in Washington—could authorize the use of military power to overturn the coup. But U.S. officials said that

there are no plans to send American forces to Haiti.

Tutwiler said the Administration impounded \$66 million in economic assistance that was not yet spent for the fiscal year that ended Monday. Those funds were the balance of \$84 million in food and other economic aid and \$1.5 million in military assistance that was appropriated for the year. The Administration had requested \$88.6 million in economic and \$2.2 million in military aid for the fiscal year that began Tuesday.

In Port-au-Prince, the scene was grim.

There were unconfirmed reports the National Penitentiary had been emptied of all 1,000 prisoners, including Roger LaFontant, a former head of outlawed Tonton Macoutes militia. There also was a report that LaFontant—jailed after leading a coup before Aristide's February inauguration—had been killed during Monday's coup.

—DON A. SCHANCHE and NORMAN KEMPSTER
TIMES STAFF WRITERS



'Dramatic' Soviet Response Promised

UNITED NATIONS—Foreign Minister Boris Pankin promised Tuesday that the Soviet Union would eventually give "a dramatic response" to President Bush's nuclear disarmament proposals after a series of technical meetings that will begin during the next 10 days.

A flurry of missions seemed in prospect as the State Department announced it was sending a delegation to Moscow in the next few days and Pankin said that Deputy Foreign Minister Alexi A. Obukhov would meet in Washington on Oct. 9 and 10 with Undersecretary of State Reginald Bartholomew.

At a news conference closing his 10-day visit to New York for the General Assembly meeting of the United Nations, Pankin said he was sure that the Soviet reply would be positive and dramatic since the Soviet Union looked on the Bush proposals "as another link in the chain of disarmament and arms control negotiations, initiatives and agreements" that began with the proposals of President Mikhail S. Gorbachev in 1986 to do away with all nuclear weapons by the end of the century. Pankin also announced that the European Economic Community and the Group of Seven industrialized nations would send a joint mission to Moscow on Oct. 14 to assess the Soviet Union's economic needs and what can be done to

help. The United States, since it is a member of the Group of Seven, would take part in this mission.

In Washington, State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler announced that the first nuclear mission would be carried out by a high-ranking inter-agency U.S. delegation that would go to Moscow to answer Soviet questions about the impact of Bush's nuclear initiative. She said the Soviet Foreign Ministry on Monday handed the U.S. embassy in Moscow a list of questions concerning specific aspects of the President's proposal that the delegation will attempt to answer.

Pankin said that the idea for U.S.-Soviet meetings on the Bush nuclear proposals came out of discussions between the Soviet ambassador in Washington and Brent Scowcroft, the White House National Security Advisor. He said the Arbakov-Bartholomew meeting would be followed by several other sessions in Europe and that the Soviet Union intended to propose a ban on nuclear testing and make proposals designed to end the proliferation of nuclear weapons throughout the world.

—STANLEY MEISLER and NORMAN KEMPSTER
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

Independence Saps Greens' Resolve

VILNIUS, Lithuania—It would not be far-fetched to say the movement for the independence of Lithuania began 70 miles from here, at the largest nuclear construction site in the world. The Soviet-built power station at Ignalina already had twin reactors modeled after those at Chernobyl when Lithuanian environmentalists organized public demonstrations in 1986 to force Moscow to cancel an additional, larger reactor already under construction.

They were more successful than they could have dreamed. Faced with rallies, marches and the formation in 1988 of a "living ring around Ignalina," a 15,000-person human blockade around the site, the Moscow regime agreed to shut down all new construction. The discovery that popular action could work against the Soviets was the root from which the rest of the independence movement sprang. Next on the environmentalists' agenda was the permanent closure of the two existing reactors, Ignalina 1 and 2. But today they still chug along, their shutdown off the national agenda. What came between the Lithuanian Green Movement and their most important goal was Lithuania's independence.

"The Ignalina problem is still here," says Janos Tamulis, a leader of the Greens who now serves as a deputy in the Lithuanian Parliament. "But it's impossible to shut down now because the electricity it produces serves Latvia, Byelorussia and Kaliningrad. In 1988, that would have been Moscow's problem. Now it's a problem of the relationship between Lithuania and other countries." In the concise formulation of Vytautas Statulevicius, 62, a mathematician and physicist who is a founder and gray eminence of the Lithuanian Green Movement: "When Ignalina was in the Soviet Union, it was one thing. But now it belongs to us." That defines the dilemma facing the Baltic region's Greens, who until recently made up the most politically successful environmental movements in Europe. For in Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, the very first manifestations of popular opposition to the Soviet regime in the late 1980s focused on the environment.

But with this summer's events in Moscow having swept former Greens activists to leadership of independent governments more abruptly than they ever anticipated, the region's environmental movements have suddenly and unexpectedly foundered. Committed environmentalists who cut their teeth on opposition to the Soviet Union find themselves still in opposition—this time to governments they helped come to power. Says Tamulis, "The Green movement here is weaker than it was two years ago, that's for sure."

Politicians who as Greens rose to national prominence now support, even propose, programs and projects similar to what they were battling as recently as last spring. These include not only Ignalina but also Baltic oil transshipment ports, coastal developments and pulp and paper factories once regarded as Soviet projects whose profits and products were siphoned off by the vast Soviet empire.

Most telling, the simple process of evolving from outsiders to proprietors has given the former environmental activists a quick education in the benefits, as opposed to the costs, of ecologically unsound enterprises. Said Dainis Ivans, who evolved from a fire-brand journalist fighting Soviet pollution into vice chairman of the Latvian Parliament: "Two years ago we demanded the paper factories be closed, but now we understand that we need them, because we need paper. Two years ago we didn't get any money from these factories, and it wasn't in our interest to keep them operating."

The post-independence tailspin of the Baltic economies has made ecology an also-ran on national agendas.

"When I was first elected to the Soviet Parliament, the people used to say, 'We'd like to close Ignalina,'" said Statulevicius. "Now all they want is to know why they have to spend 40 rubles to get one

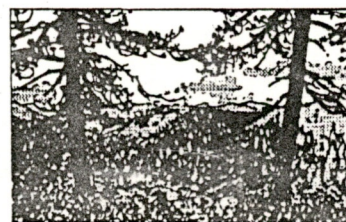
dollar, instead of six rubles like they used to." What they earlier saw as symbols of foreign domination, Greens in government now regard as potential sources of desperately needed hard currency.

Consider the case of Ventspils, the main seaport of Latvia and the primary shipment point of most of the Soviet Union's exported oil. Four chemical manufacturing and transshipment installations are within 1.5 miles of the center of the city, and residents have long complained of heightened rates of birth defects and miscarriages along with respiratory and other ailments. The decrepitude of the rail lines around the port increases the chances of a catastrophic accident involving dangerous cargo.

Latvian Greens thought they had won an important battle last year to ban the importation of ammonia into the port. But the new Latvian government is set to resume the shipments—it says Latvian farm-

ers are desperate for ammonia-based fertilizer—and is openly hostile to all other attempts to curtail shipping in the port.

"Ventspils is a big problem," acknowledged Ivans, "but for us the seaport is like oil is to Kuwait. Since 90% of Soviet exported oil goes



through Ventspils, we decided to save it."

Of course, even the crestfallen Greens prefer to be dicking for ecological standards with their own governments rather than with the Soviets. "Certainly we still have very many people who want to solve economic problems at the expense of the environment," said Olegs Batarevskis, a prominent Latvian activist. "But we need individual statehood to solve our ecological problems. Under the occupation regime, no one cared for the welfare of Latvia."

Still, many Greens justifiably feel betrayed, given their role in the Baltic independence movements. Estonian politicians date the rebirth of that country's independence drive to a series of rallies sparked in 1986 by a Soviet plan to expand mining of the mineral phosphorite, which is used for fertilizer, in the country's northeast. The scheme would have strip-mined Estonia's heavily forested national park and contaminated local water supplies with mine tailings.

Similar protests that year forced the Soviets to back off from plans to drill for oil on the Baltic shelf off the Lithuanian coast and to build a hydroelectric plant that would disrupt the flow of Latvia's Daugava River. This took place against a backdrop of genuine environmental crisis. The Baltic Sea is one of the world's most polluted waterways, in large part because the Soviet Union took advantage of its control over Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to line the shore with industrial plants equipped with rudimentary pollution controls, if any.

To exploit the region's abundant forests, the Soviets erected pulp and paper factories in every republic and in the Russian outpost of Kaliningrad, pouring untreated waste water into the Daugava, Neris and Pregol rivers, which empty into the Baltic. In northeast Estonia and elsewhere, mineral-rich land has been crudely strip-mined. Urban sewage is almost entirely untreated, so the same rivers used as sources of drinking water are fouled by effluent.

With Baltic ports such as Ventspils among the very few in the empire not closed by ice in the deep winter, the Soviets used them for the import and export of their most hazardous cargoes, including ammonia, petroleum and nuclear material.

—MICHAEL A. HILTZIK
TIMES STAFF WRITER

12 Soviet Republics Plan Union

MOSCOW—Recognizing they are united by more than the now discredited Communist ideology, the 12 remaining republics of the Soviet Union proclaimed their intention Tuesday to form an "economic community" on the ruins of state socialism.

"There is nowhere to retreat any more," Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev, the host of the meeting of republican leaders, told his guests as he urged concerted action to prevent general economic collapse and misery.

The one-day conference in Alma Ata, Kazakhstan's capital, showed that the presidents and premiers of even the most independence-minded republics now admit that nearly three-quarters of a century of membership in the Soviet Union—and in some cases centuries more as subjects of the Russian Empire—have made them highly dependent on other regions for supplies and markets.

The failed August coup d'etat left the centralized Soviet administration in shambles, and reestablishing sundered economic links has become so urgent that eight of the republics—Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the five Central Asian lands—announced Tuesday that they intend to initial or sign a treaty creating the economic community no later than Oct. 15.

Four other republics, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and Moldova—all of which have proclaimed their independence—would join later after supplementary agreements or consultations with their parliaments.

Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin, who did not attend the meeting in Alma Ata but sent a deputy prime minister, Yevgeny Saburov, as Russia's representative, told Nazarbayev by tele-

phone that Russia is even prepared to sign an accord immediately, the Soviet news agency Tass said.

The talks in Alma Ata had been planned to last four hours but took eight, and focused on a draft project for economic cooperation among the republics prepared by a group of economists headed by Grigory A. Yavlinsky, who was instrumental in past Soviet plans for a 500-day forced march to a market economy and a "grand bargain" to obtain Western aid by offering specific reforms in exchange.

Although little was revealed about the draft treaty, the 12 republics agreed in a communique issued in Alma Ata that the only way out of their economic problems was the "accelerated transition to market relations" and development of entrepreneurship. The republics also agreed to coordinate their policies in the fields of money and credit, and stipulated that if republics want their own currencies, they should be introduced in such a way as not to damage the Soviet ruble any further.

The meeting in the Kazakhstan capital, about 2,000 miles south-east of Moscow, dramatically highlighted the reduced stature of Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev. Although the session reached a decision that seems crucial for the nations that constituted what had been the Soviet Union, Gorbachev did not attend.

Ivan S. Silayev, Russia's former prime minister, who heads an emergency committee managing the national economy on which Yavlinsky also serves, said Gorbachev had not believed results on the treaty of economic union could be obtained so quickly.

—JOHN-THOR DAHLBURG
TIMES STAFF WRITER



Germany: Caught in Political Middle

PARIS—When East and West Germany reunited one year ago, the new Germany instantly became the most populous, potentially the most politically powerful state in Europe. The leaders of the other Western European powers looked with awe and foreboding upon that phoenix-like nation, risen from the rubble and shame of World War II.

They waited anxiously to see what role the new creature would assume in world affairs.

But as it began to flex its muscles in international relations, the expanded Federal Republic seemed to be caught in a no-win game—damned if it did make an effort proportionate to its new weight in the world, and damned if it didn't.

If it sat on the sidelines during a world crisis, as it was accused of doing during the Gulf War, Germany was attacked as an economic giant acting like a diplomatic dwarf. But when it entered energetically into a messy regional conflict like the one in Yugoslavia, it was accused of wanting to revive the Teutonic "sphere of influence" in Eastern Europe. Whispers of resurgent German domination coursed the diplomatic corridors of European capitals.

"Since German reunification they have become more aggressive—more independent," said Alfred Pijpers, political scientist with the Europe Institute in Amsterdam. "I'm not suggesting that Germany is becoming more dangerous, but they are more self-confident and more impatient with the smaller countries. Two years ago they would have been much more in the background in a crisis like Yugoslavia."

German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher irritated European allies by steering an independent course in Yugoslavia, threatening to recognize World War II German Axis allies Croatia and Slovenia as independent states without consulting his fellow foreign ministers in the European Community. Yet when Germany supported a proposal to send a Western European military peace-keeping force into Yugoslavia it was once again criticized for not doing enough.

The debate over Yugoslavia captures the ambiguous, anxious feelings in other European countries as reunited Germany begins to feel its way in the world. Before unification, European leaders begged the former West Germany to play a larger geopolitical role, more in keeping with its economic might as the world's third leading industrial power behind the United States and Japan.

"Everybody was relieved that Germany didn't want to do too much," Geoffrey Edwards, a political scientist with the London-based Royal Institute of International Affairs, commented wryly in a telephone interview. "But there was a feeling that a little more would be rather nice."

But now that two Germanies are one, the same Europeans are asking that the new Germany be more demure in its exercise of power. They want Germany like it was in the polite old days, before unification. No wonder that this has produced a kind of political schizophrenia in German relations with its Western partners.

—RONE TEMPEST
TIMES STAFF WRITER

News Analysis

Senate Democrats Pass Jobless Bill

WASHINGTON—Congressional Democrats, sensing a potent issue for next year's elections, Tuesday pushed through a bill extending unemployment benefits for up to 20 weeks, even though President Bush appeared to have rallied enough Republican senators to his side to sustain a promised veto.

While the House gave final approval by a veto-proof 300-118 margin, the Senate's 65-35 vote fell two votes short of the two-thirds majority needed to override a veto.

Bush picked up crucial support from Sen. John Seymour (R-Calif.) and four other GOP senators who had voted for a similar bill only last week. On Tuesday, the five cast votes against a \$6.4-billion compromise that had been worked out with the House, contending that it was a budget-busting political vehicle.

Seymour, who faces a tough election campaign next year, said that he switched sides because "this new bill clearly was a very partisan political attempt to break the budget accord of last year" between the Administration and Congress.

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), a prime sponsor of the legislation, said of the turn of events: "When the President decides to put the heat on and twist arms, he can be effective."

However, Bentsen held out hope that a veto might be overridden if new economic indicators point to a continuing recession and if GOP lawmakers hear more demands for relief from constituents.

Republican leaders, saying that the Democratic bill obviously has no chance of becoming law, introduced an alternative that would prolong expired jobless benefits for up to 10 weeks instead

of 20. With so many lawmakers agreeing that some kind of relief is needed, an eventual compromise seems likely. But for Democrats, more is at stake than unemployment compensation. They see the issue as a political sledgehammer against a President and a party with a strong hold on the White House.

"This is the issue that divides Democrats and Republicans," House Democratic Whip David E. Bonior (D-Mich.) declared

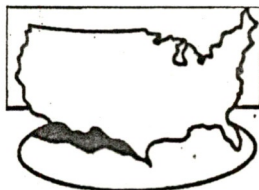
during raucous partisan debate. "Republicans' insensitivity and callousness speak to that difference."

He said that millions of unemployed Americans are waiting for Bush to sign the bill so that they can "feed their families and pay the mortgage."

Rep. Gerald B.H. Solomon (R-N.Y.) retorted that "the Democrats have intentionally charted a collision course with the Administration instead of supporting a [GOP] bill that could be signed today. With this attempt to politicize an issue, you are deliberately delaying unemployment checks."

The Democratic-sponsored bill would provide 20 weeks of additional benefits for workers in six states and Puerto Rico where unemployment has averaged more than 8% for the six months ending last July. Similarly, California and 12 other states, as well as the nation's capital, would be eligible for an extra 13 weeks of payments on the basis of a jobless rate averaging 7% or more. Workers in the 31 other states would be entitled to seven weeks of additional benefits.

—PAUL HOUSTON
TIMES STAFF WRITER



Conflicting Reports Given on Gates

WASHINGTON—In riveting and often passionate testimony, two former CIA officials told a Senate panel Tuesday that Robert M. Gates actively and systematically "corrupted" the integrity of intelligence analysis at the CIA and created a "culture of fear" so pervasive that subordinates censored themselves to avoid being pegged as Communist sympathizers.

With almost equal zeal, supporters called Gates an inspired supervisor who challenged subordinates to think in "innovative" ways by forcing them to defend "comfortable assumptions" about the Soviet Union and its covert aims in the Third World.

As the Senate Intelligence Committee opened its third week of hearings on his nomination as director of central intelligence, witnesses testifying for and against Gates painted dramatically different portraits of the man President Bush has chosen to lead the U.S. intelligence community into the new world emerging from the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union.

Indeed, so sharply conflicting were the views of the four witnesses who appeared before the committee that what emerged was less a clear picture of Robert Gates than a rare, revealing glimpse into the bitter rivalries that characterized the most secretive agency in the U.S. government during the years that Gates and his boss, the late William J. Casey, directed it.

"Everybody's talking about the confusion that the KGB finds itself in these days, but the CIA has been in turmoil for years," one committee source said.

Although the testimony offered a disquieting view of the agency, it was unclear whether it will seriously damage Gates' chances of confirmation.

"I think some Democrats have been quite badly shaken, but I don't think they've made up their minds or changed their views," Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) said. But Sen. Dennis DeConcini, (D-Ariz) went further: "He's in trouble. Even if he is confirmed, he's going to have a hard time managing" an agency so sharply divided over his nomination.

The latest testimony—along with CIA memorandums and other documents released Tuesday—constituted the most damaging evidence yet to emerge about Gates and his role in the Iran-Contra affair and other intelligence fiascoes that befell the agency before he left it in 1989 to become deputy national security adviser.

The Intelligence Committee heard the testimony in secret last Wednesday, but considered it so serious that members unanimously agreed to prolong the confirmation hearings so that it could be repeated, in a sanitized public form, this week.

Noting that other potential witnesses have since come forward, Committee Chairman David L. Boren (D-Okla.) said the hearings might be prolonged again to give at least two of them a chance to testify before Gates returns for a final round of questioning. But Boren said he still hoped to conclude the hearings this week so the committee can vote on the nomination when Congress returns from a weeklong recess.

—MICHAEL ROSS
TIMES STAFF WRITER